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The Shape of Things

THE APPOINTMENT OF DAVID LILIENTHAL to head the American Atomic Energy Commission is the outstanding act of the Truman Administration. No post today has greater importance. Mr. Lilienthal's familiarity with the problems of atomic control is matched by his distinguished record as director of the TVA. The other four members represent a wide cross-section of American life. Robert Bacher, the only scientist in the group, was Dr. Oppenheimer's assistant on the Los Alamos project and carries the indorsement of the Federation of American Scientists. W. W. Waymack is well known as the liberal editor of the Des Moines *Register and Tribune*. Sumner T. Pike was an appointee of President Roosevelt to the Temporary National Economic Committee and the Securities Exchange Commission, where he showed courage and integrity. Lewis L. Strauss, a banker, served during the war as one of the chief advisers to Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal. Perhaps the most significant feature of the new commission is its civilian make-up. For the problems of atomic control are neither primarily military nor scientific: they are related to the well-being of the whole American people and—at least until an international authority is constituted—to the well-being of the people of the world. The national development of atomic energy must be closely tied to international control, and it is highly important that Mr. Lilienthal was chairman of the committee that drew up the report on which the Baruch plan was based. It is to be hoped that those who have opposed the Baruch plan recognize in the head of the Atomic Energy Commission a man who is distinguished by his achievement in linking the development of vast natural power to the furtherance of high human objectives.

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GORDON CLAPP AS THE NEW DIRECTOR OF the TVA will carry on the traditions of his predecessor. It is greatly to Mr. Truman's credit that he chose for this key position a man who has already proved his competence over a period of thirteen years in the service of the Authority. Coming to the Tennessee Valley from Wisconsin, the home state of David Lilienthal, he entered the personnel department and was largely instrumental in working out the collective-bargaining system which has maintained labor relations at a high level. Since 1939, he has occupied the position of general manager. He commands the confidence of his associates in the TVA and is recognized by the people of the valley as one who has fought their battles in the past and can be counted on courageously to advance the purposes to which this great public enterprise has been dedicated.

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"LET THE PRESS LOOK AFTER ITS OWN affairs," a Conservative M. P. pleaded, opposing a House of Commons resolution calling for a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the finance, control, management, and ownership of the British press. But one reason why such an inquiry is needed in Britain, and would be equally valuable here, is that the press as an institution has to a large extent abandoned the practice of self-criticism. In the days when newspapers were small and personal they seldom hesitated to call attention to one another's misdeeds. But now that publishing has become really big business, with huge investments at stake, there is a tacit understanding that dog does not eat dog, and any paper can slant or suppress news without much risk of exposure from its competitors. Freedom of the press, it seems, is freedom to discuss and investigate any matter of public interest except the press itself. This being the attitude, it is not surprising that proposals for a government-sponsored study of the newspaper industry evoked anguished cries in Fleet Street. Titled publishers charged that the Labor government, resenting criticism, was plotting to abolish freedom of the press. Working newspapermen, however, applauded; they knew how much their freedom to report the news accurately had been curtailed by the necessity of catering to the ambitions and whims of power-drunk newspaper proprietors; they knew the insecurity which concentration of newspaper ownership had brought to their profession. In the House of Commons, journalist members of Parliament moved and seconded the resolution calling for a Royal Commission. In a free vote, with the government whips called off, it was approved by 270 to 157. So at last some daylight is to be thrown on the dark recesses of Fleet Street.

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WELL, IT'S BEEN A FINE FREE ELECTION. American citizens—except in the South—have had every opportunity to vote Democratic or Republican. Each party has been solidly pledged to the free-enterprise system. In the majority of cases, the candidates have been picked by the party machine. The heretics in most instances have been retired to the pasture, the heretical parties shoved off the ballot. It should be a lesson to those other democracies which have lost faith in the capitalist way of life and have even permitted labor parties and socialist parties to come to power. Take New York State, for instance. Under radical pressure, independent parties have come into being, and at least three—American Labor, Liberal, and Communist—have got on the ballot. And in every case their members and adherents have had the inalienable right of voting for the chief Democratic Party candidates on their own party line. At the Congressional or State Assembly level they are occasionally urged to vote for a good Republican or for a candidate bearing their own label. Not so, however, other parties whose independence has gone beyond the limits of decent American political behavior. The Socialists, for example, who are known to distrust both the free-enterprise system and the two time-tried parties, have, through petition, the legal right of getting on the ballot. But the law is conveniently framed so that a technical mistake—the wrong color of ink, the wrong color of paper, a single mistake in an assembly district—can invalidate the petition. Naturally, Democratic judges and lawyers, well versed in the law and the American way of elections, discover those errors. So New York Socialists, in contrast with some millions of their British, Canadian, Australian, French, and Scandinavian cousins, who talk about building a new society, find Election Day a rather dull affair. What they don't realize, of course, is that in this country we've *had* our revolution—as any Tammany chief or daughter of the said revolution could tell them.

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THE PANIC ON THE COTTON EXCHANGES has subsided, but the sycophantic courtiers of "King Cotton" are still looking for a scapegoat instead of digesting the lessons which the incident provides. Thus, Tom Linder, Georgia Commissioner of Agriculture, asserts that "a drive by Washington" was responsible for the market break. "Speculators," he naively explains, "had nothing to do with the drop in prices; they were all bullish." That, of course, was just the trouble. Spurred on by the wild talk of Mr. Linder and others, who said cotton was worth 70 cents a pound, aided and abetted by Congress, which prevented an increase in trading margins, speculators bought futures recklessly. The turnover in future contracts during the month preceding the break was terrific, amounting to around 6,000,000 bales, which compares with visible stocks of 16,500,000 bales.

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It was not only big-time gamblers like the now notorious Mr. Jordan who were plunging; reports from New Orleans say that farmers, doctors, merchants, and other non-professionals had caught the fever. In addition, textile manufacturers in many cases refrained from hedging their purchases of cotton in the hope of big inventory profits on a rising market. Under such circumstances even a small setback in prices is sufficient to launch a wave of profit-taking. That, in turn, drops quotations far enough to start involuntary liquidation, which in a top-heavy market rapidly becomes cumulative and continues until all the weak holders are eliminated. In the present instance, the situation seems to have been restored at a point that leaves cotton well above parity. And since current supplies are low in relation to demand, the short-term outlook is quite favorable. On the longer view, however, high-priced cotton must expect fierce competition both from foreign crops and synthetic fibers. Friends of the Southern farmers should help them to put their house in order instead of promising them the moon.

Doubled and Vulnerable

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE tone of Mr. Molotov's speech last week was hardly disarming. It was the speech of a man trying to pick a fight rather than reach an agreement. It seemed intended to offset any impression of good feeling that might have been created by Stalin's shrewd and balanced answers to the questions submitted by Hugh Baillie of the United Press. It was the speech of a man who lacks any sense of the minds of the people with whom he must deal. For surely if he had that invaluable sense, which Franklin D. Roosevelt possessed in such incomparable measure, he would know that his hostility and truculence are bound to build up resistance to his whole position. And this is doubly unfortunate, for many of Mr. Molotov's criticisms of Western policy were fully justified, and many of his proposals excellent, deserving honest consideration in an atmosphere of cooperation. If friends of the Soviet Union could persuade its spokesmen in the United Nations that a strategy of conciliation would advance Russia's legitimate ends and strengthen its bargaining power, they would be doing that country and the cause of peace a great service.

Luckily, Mr. Austin had the good sense to decline combat with his Russian colleague. He parried Molotov's attack in a very brief rebuttal and then dealt directly and without animus with the chief points raised by the Soviet delegate. He indorsed the proposal for a general reduction in armaments, insisting however on the necessity of "a system of inspection and other means to protect complying states against the hazards of violence and evasion." Which leads, of course, to the impasse created by Russia's objections to the American plan for atomic control. He agreed that the veto power should not be abridged, although he looked forward to some future modification of its use in situations that "merely threaten peace and security." This limitation would have ruled out the veto as applied by Russia last summer in regard to the resolution on Franco Spain. He accepted Molotov's demand that the Allied powers report on the number and strength of their military forces in non-enemy countries, but wanted the plan widened to include all armed forces, "whether at home or abroad," a suggestion obviously designed to reveal the strength of Russia's forces in the occupied countries.

These are fair, if arguable, counter-proposals. They will undoubtedly produce sharp debate in the Assembly, but the issues involved should not be dodged. On the questions of trusteeship, also raised by Mr. Molotov, Mr. Austin's reply was necessarily far less satisfactory. He said the United States hopes that the U. N. Trusteeship Council can be organized immediately to take over mandates established by the League of Nations. This is a harmless necessary hope, but it so pointedly avoided the problem of the Japanese mandated islands and of the colonial and strategic areas taken from Japan and Italy that the American position was exposed in all its embarrassing nakedness. The world knows already that this country wants to hang on to the Japanese islands for security reasons, and that powerful influences in the War and Navy departments have so far been able to

Drawing from life by **Oscar Berger**

Senator Warren R. Austin

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exercise a veto power over efforts of the State Department to go through the motions, at least, of operating through and under the United Nations.

It is nothing less than a catastrophe that this country, honestly opposed to territorial imperialism, ready at the slightest provocation to attack imperialistic tendencies in other nations, should be the chief obstacle in the U. N. to the creation of a system—and a most conservative, halting system at that—for subjecting the foreign possessions of the great powers to international supervision.

With several of the other specific questions raised by Mr. Molotov—notably Spain, Iran, Greece, and the World Federation of Trade Unions—Mr. Austin made no attempt to deal. Since his speech had been prepared in advance, the omissions can perhaps be excused, but the effect was to leave most of the good cards in the Russian hand. The great controversial issues before the Assembly, the issues which will test its power to hold the Allied world together, were laid before the delegates by the Soviet Foreign Minister. By contrast, Mr. Austin's careful discussion of the details of the United Nations constitution inevitably sounded somewhat legalistic and remote from the hard realities.

Particularly unfortunate was his failure to take up the question of Spain, for our delegation had plenty of forewarning that Spain could not be ignored. For once we could have taken the initiative in a matter which so profoundly concerns the interests, and the conscience, of the democratic world. Four times this nation has joined in pronouncements attacking the Franco regime as a fascist tyranny and an Axis creation. But when an effort is made to convert denunciation into action, we willingly let other powers assume leadership. This time, our timidity has driven us into an awkward position. Mr. Molotov supported the statement of Trygve Lie that previous "general declarations against Franco" were "absolutely insufficient" and criticized "certain great powers" for having taken upon themselves "the moral responsibility for the failure to take action in respect of a dangerous hotbed of fascism in Europe." That same day, without warning, Dr. Oscar Lange, the Polish Ambassador, with the support of Mr. Molotov, moved in the Council that the Spanish issue be dropped from the agenda so that it could be considered by the Assembly. This was followed next day with a proposal, submitted to the General Committee by the delegates of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Norway, and Venezuela "that the relations between Spain and the United Nations be put on the agenda . . . as a separate item." The next move, less than twenty-four hours later, was again made by Poland. Wincenty Rzymowski, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, submitted two motions to the Assembly, the first calling for severance of relations with Franco Spain, the second barring Franco representatives from all agencies of the United Nations. The resolutions were passed to the Political and Security Committee where they will be discussed in open hearings.

What this adds up to is a broad agreement, in which East and West are equally represented, that the "accursed question of Spain," as Vishinsky described it, must be settled in the U. N. without further delay. Will this country continue to search for meaningless formulas of admonition or disapproval in order to stave off decisive action? Shall we force the smaller nations of Europe to look eastward for help? The events of the last few days should have convinced the most case-hardened appeasers in Washington that the time for stalling is definitely past and that the United States must either support the opposition to Franco in the Assembly or surrender its claim to democratic leadership.

Food and Trade

ALTHOUGH Soviet Russia's obstructionist tactics in the United Nations Assembly have been blazoned in the headlines, comparatively few Americans are aware that the United States has been the bad boy in the vital discussions of famine control in the U. N. Food and Agriculture Organization. At the Copenhagen Conference of the FAO in September, thirty-three nations, including the United States, accepted in principle the plan for a world food board drawn up by Sir John Boyd Orr, director-general of the FAO. The primary purpose of this board would be to eliminate alternate glut and famine in world food supplies by establishing food reserves adequate for any emergency and by stabilizing prices on a worldwide basis. In a word, it would apply the principles of the ever-normal granary and the AAA to what is essentially a world problem.

At first the United States hesitated; then it accepted the plan at the Copenhagen conference. A sixteen-nation preparatory commission was named to draw up detailed recommendations. At the first meeting of this commission, held in Washington simultaneously with the U. N. Assembly meetings in New York, the United States exploded a bombshell by repudiating its indorsement of the Orr plan and advancing no alternative program of its own. The American objections to a world food board, as advanced by Under Secretary of Agriculture Norris E. Dodd, were negative and defeatist in character. While agreeing that some international action to fight famine is desirable, Dodd declared that the Orr plan was too complicated, too costly, and unworkable because of the ill effects of government intervention on agricultural supply and demand. These are the kinds of objections that are constantly being made to any proposal to ameliorate the ruthlessness of the economic cycle by people whose economic thinking became rigid in the nineteenth

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century. But the objections come with ill grace from the representative of a government department which has successfully administered a similar program on a national scale for the past fourteen years.

British comment on the American reversal has been bitter. The *New Statesman and Nation* says that "in its mad rush back to selfish capitalism" the United States has apparently decided to walk out on economic cooperation just as it walked out on the League of Nations.

As far as motive is concerned, this judgment is probably too harsh. Behind America's change of front one can easily detect State Department fears that planned distribution of basic foodstuffs would conflict with efforts to promote freer trade through the projected International Trade Organization. We share the State Department's desire to see a worldwide relaxation of man-made barriers to commerce as one step toward improved living standards and the promotion of economic stability. Quota systems and other administrative devices for controlling trade will have to be cut down if the volume of international trade is to be substantially increased. But the department's objections to the world food board seem to be wholly doctrinaire, with no recognition of the significant difference between restrictive nationalistic controls and international controls which have as their aim the stimulation of production and trade. The International Monetary Fund and Bank, whose purpose is the stabilization of world currencies, also exercises a type of control over trade. Some laissez-faire economists have objected to the international monetary program on this ground. But most economists support the program as a means of combating economic nationalism. If interference with the harsh operation of the law of supply and demand can be justified in the interest of monetary stability, surely it is justified as a means of overcoming famine and its twin scourge, depression caused by undistributed surpluses.

Nations at Work

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

The Opening Debate

Flushing Meadows, November 1

THE United Nations organization, still without a permanent home, has been forced by circumstances to start functioning before the rubble of war has been cleared away by Allied peacemakers. As a result, the U. N. from the start has had to deal with some of the unfinished business of war, while striving to elaborate long-term programs for the peace-time development of the international community. The General Assembly has thus become a sort of complementary peace conference, a forum for the exchange of grievances by the great powers and for the expression of complaints by small nations against the great.

While this situation gives the U. N. debates, both in plenary sessions at Flushing Meadows and in committee meetings at Lake Success, a character of bristling belligerency, it also endows them with a strong, indeed acrid, sense of reality. For the three main issues that have emerged in the course of the Assembly's discussions—the veto, trusteeship, and disarmament—all reflect the varying ideologies and political traditions of the member nations, and reveal the basic difficulties of effecting the necessary transition from untrammeled national sovereignty to genuine international cooperation.

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The fundamental problem about the veto is not its possession by the five permanent members of the Security Council but the use that has been made of it by Russia. To that extent, the attacks on the veto, voiced with particular vigor by Australia and New Zealand, may well appear to Mr. Molotov as attacks on the U. S. S. R. The truth of the matter is, as should by now be generally apparent, that the Charter's provision about the veto merely acknowledges the fact that the United States, the U. S. S. R., and the British Commonwealth of Nations (with France and China included by courtesy) have each sufficient power to block action by the United Nations if they decide to do so. This does not mean that the U. N. would thereby be prevented from acting against an aggressor nation; for, as is sometimes forgotten, Article 51 of the Charter states that "nothing" in that document "shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense, if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security."

It is understandable that small nations with a long tradition of political democracy should regard the veto as a dictatorial device, and prefer a vote by majority. This view, however, confuses democratic representation within a nation, where all citizens have the equal right to vote, with equality of nations in the international community, irrespective of the fact that one nation may have a population of four hundred million, like China, another only two or three million, like some of the republics of Central America. If a change is to be made

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in the method of voting in the Security Council, then some system of weighting national votes must be devised. What is needed, actually, is less casting of votes, which points up differences between nations, and more attempts by the great powers to arrive at agreement through compromise.

Agreement, however, will require the kind of give and take between nations which, as Alexandre Parodi of France rightly pointed out in discussing the veto, is at present still blocked by differences of ideology that generate mutual mistrust. The two greatest powers in the U. N., the United States and Russia, add to this mistrust by indicating, every time their good intentions are put to the test, that they think of international cooperation as primarily one-way traffic. Senator Austin, for example, was just as eloquent as Mr. Molotov in urging the formation of the Trusteeship Council. Yet American admonitions to countries holding League mandates are considerably weakened by Washington's failure to make the *beau geste* of placing former Japanese mandates in the Pacific islands now occupied by the United States under the supervision of the U. N. Nor should it be forgotten that Russia too is a "colonial" power—with the advantage that its colonial populations, of Central Asia, for example, are accorded the rights enjoyed by all citizens of the U. S. S. R. Consequently an inquiry into the often asked question whether or not these populations have the advantages advocated by Moscow for the inhabitants of colonial territories would constitute an inquiry into Russia's domestic affairs.

Similarly, there is no doubt that all the great powers would agree with Mr. Molotov on the advisability of reducing armaments and diverting expenditures for armed forces to the pursuits of peace. The real crux of Mr. Molotov's disarmament proposal, however, concerns atomic-bomb demobilization. It represents an attempt, by throwing open a general discussion of armaments in the Assembly, to circumvent the specialized discussion of the bomb carried on by the Atomic Energy Commission of the U. N. But by whatever method the United Nations proceed eventually to reduction of armaments, there must be, as Senator Austin pointed out, two conditions: agreement on placing adequate armed forces at the disposal of the Security Council, a matter on which Russia has hitherto been silent, and provision for effective international inspection.

Meanwhile, in the opening discussions of the budget committee, both the United States and Russia, which had not hesitated to expend billions of dollars and rubles in national resources on the waging of war, displayed marked reluctance to risk relatively insignificant sums on the insurance against war represented by the U. N.

The Roots of Discord

BY MARCEL HODEN

Paris, October 15

SOME eighteen months have elapsed since the San Francisco conference, and fifteen since the Potsdam meeting. During this period the Allied governments have striven unceasingly to establish the basis of peace and to create an international organization that will assure the maintenance of peace. The Council of Foreign Ministers met at London in September, 1945, and the General Assembly and Security Council of the United Nations in January, 1946; the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union conferred at Moscow in December, 1945; the Security Council has been sitting in permanent session in New York; during the spring and summer of 1946 the Big Four met again in Paris, and from July to October the Peace Conference was held there; now the United Nations Assembly is holding its second session in New York. One is forced to conclude that these efforts have not been very successful, for never since 1938 has there been more talk of war. Indeed, after the alarm was sounded by Henry Wallace, the situation seemed so critical that Marshal Stalin, Messrs. Bevin and Eden, President Truman, and Secretary Byrnes felt obliged to declare emphatically that the threat of war was imaginary, or that it had been whipped up by groups interested in spreading such fears, or that war was not inevitable. This war psychosis, whether or not it has been deliberately fostered, would not be so widespread in both Europe and America if the masses did not feel that the Allied statesmen had failed in their task. Since there can be no question of the good faith and the sincere desire to succeed of all concerned, one asks what errors of conception or method, what mistakes in tactics, what weakness and ineptitude have prevented all these meetings,

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discourses, and deliberations from accomplishing their end of liquidating the war and building the peace.

The United Nations organization was conceived for a peaceful, stable, orderly world. President Roosevelt thought of it not as a field of conflict for the great powers but as the focus of their cooperation. The men who wrote the Charter, remembering the experience of the League of Nations, had the foresight to exclude from it any reference to the preparation or the application of the peace treaties. Those matters, they felt, should be handled in conversations and negotiations among the powers involved. In the same spirit the authors of the Charter had taken care to write into the Dumbarton Oaks agreement the definite stipulation that the Security Council, unlike the old League Council, should not intervene in the early stages of a dispute but should be the court of last resort after all attempts at conciliation through bilateral negotiation or the mediation of a third party had failed. When the Charter was drawn up, Roosevelt and Stalin and probably Churchill assumed that no appeal would be addressed to the Security Council without preceding or immediately following discussions among the representatives of the permanent members of the Council, especially of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. That was the procedure at Geneva. No serious issue was presented to the League Council until after preliminary agreement—on the way the problem was to be presented and on the possible solutions—had been reached between France and Great Britain, the nations which were the driving force of the League.

It cannot be repeated too often that without preliminary understandings among the great powers, constant adjustment of their interests, and rigorous observance of the Charter's provisions, the Security Council is doomed to impotence. Hence its failure in the case of Iran and, as an inevitable consequence, in the cases of Greece and Indonesia. Whatever the cause of these disputes—and one can, for example, reproach the Soviet Union for not having respected the letter of a treaty—none of them should have been brought before the Council except for the purpose of having that body verify the existence of an accord already reached by the parties directly interested. The issues of Iran, Greece, and Indonesia, particularly the first two, are matters which a shrewd and prudent diplomacy would have known how to settle outside the U. N. They touch vital interests which no amount of public discussion can satisfy or make disappear; they can be resolved only if they are considered as part of the general situation, for which a basis of bargaining must eventually be found.

The whole course of events since the close of the war is the result of this error. And one can include, perhaps the atomic bomb, whose use Roosevelt, according to reliable witnesses, would not have authorized. In the minds of those responsible for its use, the bomb would not only end the war with Japan quickly but also serve as a warning to the Soviet Union and, above all, prevent it from getting its share, as agreed upon with Roosevelt, from the defeat of Japan. But—though certain people may think otherwise—the atomic bomb was not and is not a predominant factor in determining Soviet policy. Stalin's reply to the questions asked by Alexander Werth of the London *Sunday Times* proves that. Moscow's attitude toward the peace settlement seems to have been largely determined by a shift in American policy. Mr. Byrnes's speech of February 28, 1946, Churchill's address at Fulton a few days later, and the comments they drew from American and British papers were interpreted in Moscow and throughout the world as announcing the reestablishment of the Anglo-American dyarchy which had been supplanted at Teheran by the British-American-Soviet triumvirate.

Washington's sudden, decisive volte-face and the deployment of American naval and air forces which followed did not immediately affect Soviet policy. But at the end of May Molotov publicly denounced the "Anglo-American bloc." Apparently in the interim the deliberations of the four Foreign Ministers had convinced Moscow that the Anglo-Americans were planning to go farther than merely reject the claims which the Soviet government had believed to be legitimate after Washington and London accepted Moscow on an equal footing. In the attitude of the British and American diplomats toward the peace treaties for the countries of Eastern Europe Russia saw an indication that Washington and London intended to challenge its claim to the fruits of victory, to nullify with the aid of elements disposed to counter-revolution the political and social transformations effected in the border countries, and to restore regimes hostile to the Soviet Union in these regions. This time it was not simply a question of the Soviet Union's place in the post-war world but of its very security, as conceived by the Soviet leaders. From that moment suspicion and profound distrust were awakened in the Russians, making them more and more intransigent, more and more indisposed to a cooperation which in their eyes was tantamount to subordination. The British and Americans, for their part, relying on unverified reports from divers emigration and opposition circles, believed that the Soviet Union was so weakened that they had only to reject any compromise to force it to yield. One may even wonder whether the American and British delegations were not deliberately seeking a rupture. As one New York paper put it, "Rather an impasse than a compromise."

The utilization of the U. N. for purposes which that institution was never intended to serve, purposes contradictory to its charter, and the return to a system of Anglo-American dyarchy explain the deterioration in

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Big Three relations and consequently in the world situation. Mr. Byrnes may have urged the calling of the Peace Conference in the hope that it would lend a "democratic" character to the preparation and adoption of the peace treaties, but certainly the impression was soon created, and not only among the Russians, that the American and British leaders intended to use the debates to mobilize world opinion against Soviet policy. One is tempted to believe that at one moment Mr. Byrnes thought of intrusting to the U. N.—which is utterly incompetent in such a matter—the task of drafting the treaties. In any case, the Peace Conference, conceived and conducted not as a diplomatic congress but as a parliamentary assembly, was unable to modify in any considerable measure the texts submitted by the Big Four, still less to find acceptable solutions for problems on which the Big Four had reached no agreement. Turning the weapon of publicity against his Anglo-American partners, Molotov went over the heads of the delegates and addressed himself to the world, presenting in the most precise, frank, and vigorous language heard in a long time an outline of Soviet policy as opposed to British and American policy. It would be a mistake to think that his words were completely lost on the world.

Let us hope that the proper conclusions will be drawn from the lessons of the Paris conference. To judge from his address to the American people on October 18, Mr. Byrnes has reflected on the results of his program. At the U. N. Assembly the American and British delegations may shortly have an opportunity to clarify their position on an important point. Several representatives of the small nations have already raised the question of the veto. In the present state of international relations, suppression of the veto power would be fatal to the functioning if not to the very existence of the U. N. Contrary to the general opinion, the use of the veto is not against the interest of the small or medium powers. One might say that the veto is the counterpart in the peace of the demand for unconditional surrender which Roosevelt and Churchill adopted as their line in the war. Through their adherence to the policy of unconditional surrender—Stalin was not present at Casablanca when it was formulated but subscribed to it later—the protagonists in the anti-Hitler, anti-fascist struggle agreed not to enter into any negotiations with the Axis to bring about a compromise peace. For the Allies the Casablanca formula was both a restraint and a guaranty. The same is true of the veto. This right which has been accorded to the "Big Five" imposes on each of them the obligation to do nothing against the others but always to seek formulas of agreement and compromise. Another of its purposes is to remove the temptation to build up artificial and ephemeral majorities. From this point of view, the veto right, far from jeopardizing the sovereignty of the nations which do not enjoy it, may be considered a safeguard of their independence and freedom of action. Someone has said that the small powers can disturb the peace but only the big ones can destroy it. Nothing could be more true. All wars between small nations have been settled by the big powers.

Moreover, contrary to another widely held opinion, the veto right does not make the Security Council impotent in critical cases. Unanimity—that is, a generalized veto—was required in the Council of the League of Nations, and when Fascist Italy, then a member of the Council, attacked Ethiopia, the unanimity rule prevented the Council from naming Italy as the aggressor and from applying the sanctions provided by the Charter. This difficulty, however, was circumvented: the members of the Council, not the Council itself, held a meeting which the Italian member did not attend, and each of them, as a representative of his country, declared that in his opinion the Italian government was guilty of an act of aggression which necessitated the application of sanctions. The Italian government did not fail to point out that these declarations were ineffective since one of the fundamental provisions of the Charter had been violated. But the important thing was that they registered the determination of the British government and, to a lesser degree, of the French government, then headed by Laval, to declare war on Italy, if necessary, in order to wrest from it the fruits of its aggression. London's attitude secured the adhesion of fifty-two other nations. Acting outside the rules of the Charter, they proclaimed Italy to be guilty of aggression and agreed to impose sanctions. The same procedure could be followed if one of the members of the Security Council were found guilty of an aggressive action. Then the question would be, not whether the veto applied in such a case, but whether the other powers were ready to use arms and whether they were capable of forming a coalition to prevent the act of aggression. In the final analysis aggression poses a problem of will and force, not of juridical rule.

The mistakes of a technical and political nature committed since the end of the war are not irreparable. But for the United Nations to survive and develop and to give the world peace, several conditions must be fulfilled. First, Big Three unity must be restored. Secondly, the Charter of the United Nations must be respected by all and not used for purposes that are alien to its intention; it would be dangerous to try to modify it at this time. Finally, there must be a courageous, frontal attack on the problem of liquidating the war. In his message of October 18 Mr. Byrnes said he did not consider the status quo sacrosanct. American diplomacy must give practical application to this statement by offering to serve as mediator between the British and Russians.

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MacArthur in the Paddy Fields

BY HAROLD STRAUSS

GENERAL MACARTHUR'S land-reform program has backfired so badly that it may offset all his constructive achievements. Militarism has always drawn its real strength from the rural areas of Japan, where the mentality of the inhabitants is so backward and the conditions of their life so oppressive that they look upon an army career as a noble and desirable escape. Feudalism has not been conserved by despotic political control alone; it is deeply rooted in the thoughts, sentiments, and usages of the villagers. As an editorial in a leading Japanese magazine declared in an ominous but representative vein, "The hard labor and poverty of the farmers unwittingly fostered the tendency toward feudalism and strengthened the rapport between the farmer and the soldier which offered militarism its base. A recurrence might nurture hopes of revenge for our race, and so would be inimical to peaceful policies." But up to the present the villages, in democratic elections, still persist in returning the old officials to office.

The Supreme Commander and his staff (SCAP) recognized in a general sort of way before they set foot in Japan that they had to break the back of rural feudalism. But they made no advance preparations for doing this, either by developing plans or by procuring qualified personnel. Thus there developed one of those situations which, even though they are the rule rather than the exception in the army, always seem to be importations from Never-Never Land.

The Natural Resources Section, the logical agency, had a galaxy of production experts but none who would touch a socio-political problem such as land reform. It refused the job. The next choice, the large, vigorous, and influential Economic and Scientific Section, was geared to handle only financial, industrial, labor, and scientific problems, and it too begged off. The baby was finally deposited on the doorstep of that haven for orphan problems, the Civil Information and Education Section.

At that time C. I. and E. was staffed with young men quite capable of publicizing the programs of other SCAP agencies but not expected to develop programs themselves. Nevertheless, the writing of the land-reform directive became the responsibility of a C. I. and E. captain who had been a Chicago newspaperman and a lieutenant who had done some radio-script writing. It was not the fault of these gentlemen, and it is no slur upon them, to say that what they knew about the technical problem of land reform in Japan could have been balanced on the tip of a chopstick.

Though they painstakingly interviewed all kinds of Japanese farm-association officials and agricultural experts, their approach remained primarily American. They envisioned turning the oppressed tenant farmers into freeholders who would acquire the sturdy, independent views of yeomen. To many of us this objective seemed unexceptionable at the time. The government was to be required to force the sale of large land holdings, and to facilitate the purchase of land by tenant farmers through cheap credit and easy payments. This, I said to myself, is something we could use in America, especially in the South. I too was thinking in terms of America, where a modicum of the spirit if not always the means of independence is to be found, and land is plentiful.

The original draft of the government bill which embodied in detail the requirements of the broad SCAP directive was prepared by an official of the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture who had once been imprisoned as a Communist. It was "radical" in the sense that it limited land ownership to a maximum of 7.5 acres. At a Cabinet meeting held later this figure was raised to 12.5 acres, which would have left more than a million tenant families without land.

The Japanese conservatives and most farmers were content with the bill. And the Japanese liberals also, whether influenced by their constant sycophancy or by the same fundamental misconceptions which plagued SCAP, at first accepted its basic principles. For instance, Rikizo Hirano, who had been expelled from Tokyo Imperial University some fifteen years ago for radicalism, announced that the bill would democratize rural life, ameliorate the food situation, and improve relations between landlords and tenants. True, he joined other progressives in attacking subordinate provisions: it was psychologically wrong to frame the bill merely as an amendment to the hated and regressive war-time Farm Land Adjustment Law; under the 12.5-acre limit the million families unable to purchase land would slip from tenancy to the lower status of farm hands; the persons best able to take advantage of the easy credit terms would be the small landowners now holding less than 12.5 acres; the agricultural associations, which were intrusted with supervision of the forced sales, were known as the tools of the war-time government and the landowners; worst of all, the spirit of the law could be

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easily evaded by transferring excess acreage to relatives.

Serious as these criticisms were, SCAP believed that they did not touch the basic conception of the reform and that specific points of administration were better dealt with by Japanese political action than by a new directive. It was strengthened in this view by the editorials in supposedly progressive papers; one in a labor journal said, "By SCAP directive agricultural revolution has been made the foundation of the reconstruction of Japan. Past Japanese imperialism can be traced to the exploitation of poor peasants."

Perhaps the wide acceptance of the principle of the bill sprang from the general belief that the Potsdam Declaration required the de-industrialization of Japan. Teiji Katsuta wrote that "there is no alternative but for all the people to engage in farming," and similar extreme statements were common. At any rate, the bill was enacted and became effective on February 1. Shortly afterward SCAP had to recognize that the evasions foreseen by Hirano and others were actually occurring, and one of its spokesmen expressed discontent with the situation. This statement released a flood of denunciations of the whole program.

The first open attack on small-scale farming as an ideal —a criticism which cut to the core of the SCAP directive—came from the excellent left-wing magazine *Nippon Hyoron*. "If the intensification of small-scale farming is achieved," it growled, "then at best Japan will become a silk-producing colony of the United States. Such a program would wed agricultural areas to feudalism and reaction." A legal journal, *Horitsu Shimpo*, produced convincing evidence that the bill was a replica of others that had turned out to be fiascos, especially of the infamous measure in the early Meiji era which stilled popular clamor by selling land to tenants at high prices under mortgages and by permitting foreclosure when payments could not be met, as was soon the case. A relatively conservative contributor to *Horitsu Shimpo* predicted stuffily that "undesirable landholding may ensue," and that "the inevitable laws of supply and demand and the fundamentals of human nature will eventually cause tenants to revert to their old status again." In truth, the SCAP directive which had seemed so admirable on first reading had naively played into the hands of the Japanese reactionaries, who had had long experience in meeting demands for land reform.

Japanese liberals must share the blame with SCAP. It was typical of their blundering and vacillation that the same Hirano who in December had scratched SCAP's back was in March denouncing the principle of small landholdings: "Past reforms have always aimed at creating small holders. But to these small holders the land itself was as heavy a burden as rent to the tenants. The life of a small holder is nothing but a vain effort not to lose his land and a constant reduction of his standard of living." Another commentator said: "The act is the incarnation of the traditionally reactionary policy of the Ministry of Agriculture. Small-scale ownership is the citadel of jingoists who despise reform, admire the army, and clap their hands for a strong foreign policy." Like the other liberals who now attacked the act, this writer concluded that "only mechanization, which in turn is possible only after the organization of large collective farms, can make rural democracy possible. Although the farmers have always been anxious to own land, past reforms have been initiated to protect landowners and rich farmers in times of deflation. Tenants were raised to the status of small holders in periods of cheap money and were forced to surrender their land when depression set in. The present program is no exception."

Almost overnight scores of progressive writers joined in the attack. Many, like Hirano, had to eat their own earlier words. One of the leading economic experts, Kiyoshi Tsuchiya, had written in December that "the creation of landed farmers will destroy feudalism. Here is a solid basis for democratic development." But in May he was denouncing the reform as "a half-hearted compromise engineered by reactionary forces." A famous Socialist on the staff of Tokyo Imperial University concluded that "the government reform plan aims neither at enlarging the scale of management nor at socializing management; mere possession of land is, needless to say, not socialistic. The small-holder system has a connection with absolutism, and therefore the Japanese government has long sought to create small holders." Another prominent progressive said that "the government's program might be a step forward if these were the days of black reaction, but at a time when democracy is ascendant, it is only a breakwater against real agrarian revolution."

The conclusion of most progressive theorists was that the standards of living of the Japanese farmer could not be raised until farming was mechanized, and that mechanization was blocked by excessively small holdings. SCAP studies of the problem reached the same conclusion. But in spite of this, SCAP did not act. More surprisingly, neither the Social Democratic Party nor the Communist Party withdrew its support of the basic principles of the land-reform act; both contented themselves with attacks on its corrupt administration. They even maintained their initial insistence that 7.5 acres rather

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than 12.5 acres should be the legal maximum. So anomalous was the situation that the same theorists who had rejected the principle of small holdings were forced, when speaking under party auspices, to demand the smaller maximum. At the very most, some of them were allowed to advocate *simultaneously* a guaranty of "the right of tillage," which would give tenants far greater legal protection without destroying the identity of large landholdings and potential mechanization. One said, "If the right of tillage is secured, and if effective tenants' unions are organized, it is not decisively important for tenants to own land."

As the general election approached, the Communists sought to underbid the Social Democrats by proposing the ridiculously uneconomic limit of 3.75 acres. In this sheer political opportunism they were joined by the Soviet member of the Allied Council for Japan, General Derevyanko, who certainly might have been expected to understand the retrogressive nature of small holdings. The mathematics of his proposal to make land available to all tenant families required, because of the sheer scarcity of tillable land and the ever-present population pressure, a maximum limit somewhat under 7.5 acres. The politics of his proposal required recognition that the Japanese peasants, like peasants all over the world, aspired to land ownership.

Of course it was short-term political expediency that underlay the confusion. The best estimates are that 60 per cent of the rural population supported the land-reform program, while most of the rest wanted to be more secure in their tenancy and to be permitted to pay their rent in cash, as the act stipulated. As for collectivization and mechanization, such ideas were far beyond their political horizons. Thus the Marxist parties, in making a bid for rural support, were forced into an equivocal position. Some of their spokesmen were so embarrassed that they attempted explanations. I remember Shin Takano produced one, couched in elephantine Communist phraseology, which referred to "social contradictions" that necessitated simultaneously appeasing the bourgeois inclinations of the peasants and driving for the socialization of the land system.

The behavior of Japanese left-wing politicians can be explained if not excused as opportunism. But the behavior of SCAP cannot be justified. While it is denouncing the old militarists, it is fertilizing the soil in which a new spirit of militarism will thrive. While it is setting up a fine-sounding new constitution, it is fostering in rural areas the spirit that will evade its provisions. "Forty acres and a mule" may have a grand sound to American ears, but the application of this slogan, born in a spacious land, can only bring disaster in narrow Japan. The only acceptable farm policy is one that will simultaneously raise both the standard of living of the Japanese peasants and their productivity. Lack of such a policy must have one of two results: either Japan will remain permanently an expensive ward of the United States, or it will be obliged to resume the drive for export markets, based on sweated labor and backed by rural militarism, which led to war.

Southern Boom, Cotton Bust

BY A. G. MEZERIK

Atlanta, October 29

COTTON prices have crashed. In a period of days market declines have swept away $425,000,000 of the South's most important economic stake. Nine million families are directly or indirectly dependent upon cotton for their livelihood, and all Southerners will feel the effect of the shadow spreading from the exchanges. Always the gateway to the South, Atlanta is today a vantage point from which one can see a depression around the corner. Watching a crisis in the making is a curious thing, made doubly so because the South is at present in the best financial condition it has known since the Civil War.

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The South has nibbled away, during the war years, a sizable chunk of its indebtedness to the North. Mortgages, bonds, notes, and other loans have been paid off, reduced, or refinanced. Interest rates have eased. The town of Winder, Georgia, initially paid 8 per cent on its bond issue of $20,000; recently this issue has been refinanced at 1¼ per cent. Athens, Georgia, has reduced, in similar fashion, its interest load from 6 per cent to 1¼ per cent on an issue of $100,000.

A steady stream of money has been pouring out of the South and into the coffers of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia banks; into the New York and the Metropolitan insurance companies; into Hartford and the Prudential. But this time it is not the old, monotonous

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colonial story of money going out of the South and nothing coming back. This outflow has been helpful, for as debts have been cleared, the interest load, always onerous for the South, has decreased. The debt-free collateral is capital, and together with cash now held by Southern capitalists it constitutes a tidy sum with which independent operators in the South can venture investments in Southern industry. These are the developments which have contributed to a novel and welcome feeling of optimism among Southern business men.

Yet it's all relative; the South, by Northern standards, is still very poor indeed, and though its debts have been reduced, the overwhelming bulk of Southern industry, transportation, and commerce is still controlled by Northern capital. The recent purchase by Northern interests of Southern-owned textile mills at a price of $19,000,000 indicates that absentee ownership is still very much in the picture. However, Southerners can afford to smile about this invasion, for at $19,000,000 the obsolete textile equipment involved in these sales is so terribly overpriced that the new owners can never hope to make money except at present short-lived inflationary sales prices. But this is an exception, not the rule. Monopoly during the war strengthened its hand everywhere, including the South. So the South will continue to ship out huge sums, in interest and profits.

Meanwhile the new prosperity, slight though it is, has been felt by both farmers and industrial workers. In Georgia the record of the three months ending June 30, 1946, bears out this trend. The total paid to wage-earners by businesses employing eight or more workers was two and a half times the amount paid in the similar quarters of 1939 and 1940. The wage bill, $205,000,000, was larger by $13,000,000 than the amount paid in the same period in 1945, when the war was still on. The total number of employees in 1946 was about 30 per cent above the pre-war average. Textiles, the largest Georgia industry, employed 106,000 persons in June compared with 90,000 in pre-war years.

New and wholesome efforts are being made by Southerners. Three young Southerners are putting together a slick, modern, *Time*-style weekly dedicated to Southern affairs. The three men are liberals, and a mass publication such as their projected *Pace*, designed as it is primarily to reach Southern business men, is a new field for liberals. Philip Hammer, William R. Davlin, and Charles G. Helfenstein are the men involved, and their interest and influence are typical of those of the new Southern progressive.

All this is due to the tiny release from driving poverty brought by the war years. Even the old-line conservatives have relapsed a bit. Their attitude toward the C. I. O. Southern organizing drive has been tempered. There have been no repetitions of Harlan County, of Bibb County, or of Mississippi, and I do not think there will be—although depression may temporarily sharpen the the conflict. The outcome of the Columbia trials in Tennessee dramatizes, more than anything else, the fact that the old venomous anti-Negro and its allied anti-labor attitude is losing its grip. Fifteen years ago it would have been difficult even to imagine the acquittal of twenty-three out of twenty-five Negroes standing trial.

Despite Talmadge's victory in Georgia, the political picture is not all dark. It is true that the liberal and progressive forces, ordinarily the most valiant of Southerners, have been badly shaken by the Talmadge victory, but the political facts do not justify their deep gloom. James V. Carmichael, Governor Talmadge's opponent, did win the largest popular vote. And this was more difficult than it sounds. The opposition to Talmadge was split between ex-Governor Ed Rivers, who had a fairly clean labor record, and Carmichael. Add to this that Carmichael was neither a good leader, a progressive figure, nor a popular spokesman. In fact, in some trade-union circles Carmichael was characterized as almost anti-labor. Obviously no one was able to work up a crusading zeal in his support; yet the progressive feeling throughout Georgia—intent on defeating Talmadge—was strong enough to give Carmichael the biggest vote.

Governor Arnall and some of his associates are not as clear as they might be about these reasons for Carmichael's defeat. They tend to place the blame on the Southern liberals instead of on the unit system which euchered Carmichael out of the victory he actually won. They also forget Carmichael's own weakness as a candidate—a human failing on their part, since they picked him. Finally they ignore the cost of making a series of alliances with old-line Democrats who were committed only to staying in public office and who deserted Arnall's ship for a cosier deal with Talmadge. Little is heard of these basic reasons for Talmadge's victory. Instead, the liberals are blamed for not working harder and for not being "hard-headed, practical" politicians.

The liberals momentarily feel that there is no hope under Talmadge. Some even talk of leaving the state. But they needn't leave and they shouldn't, for the truth is that there are more progressives than reactionaries in Georgia, and the Carmichael vote should have proved it to everyone. In fact, there are more progressives in the South than ever before. "Big Jim" Folsom rode into office in neighboring Alabama by promising an administration like that given Georgia by Arnall. And Governor Arnall is more popular in the South than any Southerner has been since Tom Watson. He is in demand for lectures in nearly every town. The farmers and workers want to hear what he has to say, and they welcome his progressive approach. However, in Georgia, Talmadge will be in office and not Arnall. And of course he will be reactionary. He will favor, as much as he dares, the

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"hate" movements, and he will deliver to the big Northern corporations who were his supporters. Talmadge has already promised Thomas L. Camp, executive of the Georgia organization of railroads, the secretaryship of the state senate. In that job Camp will be in charge of all bills. But Arnall has really sparked a Southern populist movement, and if it seems to people in Atlanta, so close to the scene, to be in permanent eclipse, that feeling will pass.

Aside from the political, there are important economic and social liabilities in the Southern pattern today. More even than in the North the housing shortage has affected the urban areas. This is reasonable enough in the light of the much higher birth rate in the South. Whites and Negroes alike suffer from lack of housing, but with this explosive difference. In Atlanta Negroes constitute one-third of the population and are constricted into one-eighth of the land area—which makes the situation acute. Incidents have already occurred. In one block where Negroes succeeded in buying all the property except eight houses and a church, two of the new tenants have been threatened with death and one Negro has been manhandled. On another street shots were fired into one house and others were damaged. No arrests were made.

Yet these tensions too have been lessened by the increased prosperity. The South's economic pie is larger than it has ever been: more pieces are available and each is larger. The furious scrabble for a tiny part of the pie has in the past played into the hands of the political demagogues, racists, quislings, and industrial and agricultural barons who used the "divide and conquer" technique to perpetuate their rule. And this brings me back to my starting-point, for the economic pie is beginning to grow smaller again.

Cotton—still the base of the Southern economic pyramid—is way down. The effect of its dizzy fall will be profound. And the signs of inflation's withering touch are already plain. The number of persons who could afford to buy more than the barest necessities has only recently expanded, and on them the effect of rapidly rising prices is instantaneous. One can almost see the buyers driven out of the market. Of course the demand for all kinds of goods will continue to be great, but as prices mount, here where purchasing power is thinnest, the effective demand visibly diminishes. It is not just because folks need food and shelter and clothing that we have scarcities, but because people have money and can afford to buy the things they want. Each day the soaring prices leave fewer people in the circle of those able to buy, and each day the scarcity grows less. Soon it will no longer be scarcity but glut; people will still want things but have no money to buy them with. In the South, home of the poorest of American poor relations, that day is again just around the corner.

In the Wind

THE WIND DEVOTES ITSELF THIS WEEK TO a compendium of worthy utterances, both by men and by institutions. Heading the list is Court Asher, publisher of *X-Ray,* who recently referred to General Eisenhower as a "Swedish Jew."

MEANWHILE, editor Luka Palamarchuk of the Ukraine's *Radyanska Ukraina* told a New York *Times* reporter that "there is no criticism of Josef Stalin in Soviet newspapers, because Stalin never does anything that merits criticism."

A MAN was interviewed by the University of Denver's National Opinion Research Center the other day. He was asked: "Do you think Negroes are as intelligent as white people?" He answered: "No." He explained: "Some Negroes you couldn't learn anything."

H. W. PRENTISS, JR., who seems to have earned his own regrets, said in a recent address: "Unfortunately, freedom and physical luxury seem to be congenitally incompatible." Mr. Prentiss, who ought to know, is president of Armstrong Cork and past president of the N. A. M.

A PROCLAMATION by Thomas E. Dewey of New York named the week before election as that state's "Apple Week."

THAT SAME PRE-ELECTION WEEK, the Wayne County (Michigan) Republican Finance Committee expressed its fear of a repudiation, by the county, of Senator Vandenberg. "This," quavered the committee, "could have awe-inspiring repercussions."

AND THE RESEARCH STAFFS of three California industrial-employment commissions have announced breathlessly to Governor Warren that unemployment in California dropped in September and that "the chief reason for this rapid decline in unemployment was the large expansion in employment."

"SO LITTLE," says the Pennsylvania Railroad in a pamphlet urging raises in freight rates, "has never before meant so much to so many."

A SMALL SQUIB in the New York *Herald Tribune* announcing the resignation of Victor Emanuel, director of General Aniline and Film Corporation, carried this headline: "Resigns Dictatorship."

CLASSIFIED AD in the Bridgeport (Connecticut) *Telegram*: "A Master Baker seeks a new position. Have good bread formula. . . . Can handle union and other un-American element. Pay-roll padding if desired."

SAM GOLDWYN, who ought to be used to this sort of thing, spreads two pages of blurb for his new movie, "The Best Years of Our Life," in a recent issue of *Time,* the infallible magazine. "In the beginning was the word," starts the advertisement, with an asterisk after "word." At the bottom of the page: "* Genesis."

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.]

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The People's Front

TO TALK about fascism today is, for many Americans, like talking about yellow fever. The disease is out of date, and, in any case, an extremely boring topic. Of course they show a certain tolerance toward the Spaniards: "Those poor people still have Franco to contend with; so it is understandable that they should be obsessed by the specter of fascism." On the whole, however, their attitude is one of distaste, as if the Spaniards, suffering from amoebic dysentery, had committed the faux pas of describing their intestinal irregularities more graphically than etiquette permits. But now an outstanding American, O. John Rogge, has come forward to tell his compatriots that the fascist amoeba is not confined exclusively to third-rate countries; that even a powerful democracy like the United States has its carriers of infection—a Montana Senator or the president of a powerful trade union. It is important that an American should have formulated this *J'accuse*, an American who until now was considered eminently qualified for a high post in the Department of Justice. The most important point in the whole story is Mr. Rogge's warning that "the fascist danger to the United States is not past." As a matter of fact, many Europeans believe that the threat has actually increased since the end of the war, both in this country and abroad.

Much has been written about the attempts of the old fascist parties to come back, but few Americans are aware that side by side with these political organizations are movements whose aim is to defend monopoly capitalism against the determined efforts of the left parties which are now pushing political democracy in the direction of an economic democracy opposed to the oppression of cartels and trusts. One of these movements is synarchism, not to be confused with the organization that has spread over Mexico and found its roots in local political rivalries and clerical-agrarian reaction. Synarchism as a worldwide conspiracy is attempting to take over the functions of the fascists in those countries where the latter cannot operate openly or to ally itself with existing fascist groups.

Michael Sordet, in a remarkably documented article, The Secret League of Monopoly Capitalism, published in the scholarly Swiss review, *Schweizer Annalen* (No. 2, 1946-47), gives us a full description of the synarchist movement in Europe. He describes the synarchists as "the representatives of international high finance," who not only helped to bring fascism to power in Germany and to provoke the war, from which they reaped enormous profits, but who contributed to the defeat of France and the rise of Pétain and his traitorous clique.

His account of the organization in France reads almost like a detective story. Le Mouvement Synarchique d'Empire (M. S. E.) was founded in Paris in 1922, a few weeks before—what a singular coincidence!—Mussolini's March on Rome. Its original promoters numbered seven, three of whom have since been identified as Baron Leo de Nervo, with connections in some fifty financial and heavy-industry enterprises, Maxime Renaudin, a financier known to represent international Catholic interests, and Jean Coutrot, a close friend of Marshal Pétain. The M. S. E. is rigidly aristocratic in structure: members are recruited in powerful big-business circles and are expected to enrol new adherents from among their friends. Every precaution is taken to insure secrecy: if a person seems desirable because of his position, he is subjected without his knowledge to a careful investigation that may last for several years before he is asked to join. The probe covers the most intimate details of his life—family relationships, love affairs, hobbies, opinions expressed in conversation, emotional stability, and so on. The candidate has no contact with the organization until the day he is invited to sign up; at that moment he makes the acquaintance of a single member, the person who solicits his application. Then he receives a copy of the "Pacte synarchiste révolutionnaire," a hundred-page booklet, bound with a sealed gold band which bears two identifying numbers—his own and that of his sponsor. About the organizational set-up and the policy-making bodies, he is told nothing.

Frenchmen in general learned of the existence of the M. S. E. in the summer of 1941 when Jean Coutrot died under mysterious circumstances which were never cleared up. A collaborationist newspaper, *l'Appel*, which carried the announcement of his death, revealed at the same time that most of the ministers and generals in the Vichy entourage belonged to this secret society. Coutrot had told an intimate friend that the directing body of the M. S. E. consisted of four people, but he mentioned no names.

What are the contents of the "Pacte synarchiste révolutionnaire," so vigilantly controlled? The most important section provides for the division of the world into five great *fédérations impériales*, or *sociétés mineures des nations*. Metropolitan Britain and its colonies and dominions make up one. The federation of pan-American nations comprises the United States and the other countries of the Western continent with the exception of Canada. The pan-Eurasian federation consists of the Soviet Union, including all its Asiatic republics but excluding Finland and the Baltic states. The pan-European-African federation takes in Western Europe, including Finland, the Scandinavian and Baltic countries, and the African continent excluding the British colonies. China and Japan head the pan-Asiatic federation.

The creation of five completely autarchic economic units would make trade agreements between nations superfluous. More important to the M. S. E., Russia would be politically dwarfed by the European bloc with its 450,000,000 inhabitants, its highly developed industries, and the rich resources of the African hinterland. As for the internal structure of the various countries, the synarchists intend to replace the parliamentary system in the present democracies with the corporate state.

DEL VAYO

[*Next week Mr. del Vayo will describe the international connections of the M. S. E. and its plans for America.*]

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Starving the Customers

CONTROLS are falling like the autumn leaves; those beneficent monarchs of the market, supply and demand, are reclaiming the kingdom of prices from the tyrants of OPA; production is booming and profits are soaring; the seers tell us that the New Deal night is over and the Republican Party about to recapture its heritage. Why, oh why, then, is there so much melancholy in Wall Street? Why are the bears dancing triumphantly around the stricken bulls? What is the fly in the capitalist ointment now?

Well, that is not hard to guess; it's those rapacious trade unions that are spoiling everything by insisting that with the lid off prices their members are entitled to more wages. Workers in automobiles, steel, rubber, textiles, coal, and many other industries are preparing to ask for higher pay to offset the higher cost of living. Consequently many employers fear that they will either have to pay up, a painful prospect, or face a new and costly round of strikes.

Hoping to head off these awkward demands, or at least to prepare public opinion to resist them, the spokesmen of business have started a heavy barrage of propaganda. One favorite argument is that the rise in the cost of living during the past year is solely due to the increases in wages which labor, aided and abetted by the government, extorted from industry last winter. Actually the extent of those increases has been greatly exaggerated. It is frequently implied that the pattern was set by the 18¼-cent raise obtained by the automobile workers, but figures recently published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics show that only 25.6 per cent of the workers in all manufacturing industries received increases of 18½ cents or more per hour. The following table shows how others fared:

10 cents to less than 18½ cents	37.9 per cent
5 cents to less than 10 cents	13.5 " "
Less than 5 cents	1.7 " "
No increases	21.3 " "

A further breakdown of the BLS figures shows that there is no exact correlation between industries giving the largest wage increases and those which have advanced their prices most. For instance, 28.5 per cent of the workers in the paper industry, where prices have risen very steeply, have had no increases. It is also interesting to note that the industries with the largest percentages of workers receiving no increases are among those which have returned particularly favorable profits in the past year. They include food products, furniture and finished lumber, paper, and chemicals.

In the case of non-manufacturing employment, the experience of the workers has been even more unfavorable. No less than 48.4 per cent in wholesale trade, 63.6 per cent in retail trade, and 67.9 per cent in service trades have remained at their V-J Day pay levels. It is not surprising that the big retailers, enjoying something like double their pre-war turnover, are making profits on a stupendous scale. What is curious, though, is that they continually grumble about the shortage of labor; it doesn't seem to have occurred to them that those "immutable" laws of supply and demand may apply to labor as well as commodities.

The most important instances this year of a price increase definitely keyed to a wage increase was the additional $5 a ton granted to the steel industry by the OPA as part of the bargain by which the steel strike was settled. Because of the extent to which steel enters into the costs of other industries, the settlement of this dispute has been quoted as a prime example of the way in which rising wages exert an inflationary influence. It will be hard to sustain this contention, however, now that the third-quarter report of United States Steel has been published, for it shows that labor costs per ton of products shipped during the period were less than before the steel strike.

For the whole of 1945 Big Steel's labor cost per ton—this includes salaries, social-security tax, and pensions—was $45.4; in the third quarter of the current year it was $44.3. It follows that the $5 price boost was not required to cover increased labor costs; it was, in fact, largely added to profits. After deducting non-recurring items, the corporation's net earnings for the quarter amounted to $29,529,000, or $6.62 per ton shipped. This compares with a profit return of $3.15 a ton for the whole of 1945.

At first sight this may appear something like a miracle, but the explanation is fairly simple. During the three months ending September 30 Big Steel operated at 94.3 per cent of capacity, whereas during 1945 it attained only 82 per cent of capacity. That meant the spreading of fixed costs—a large item in an industry like steel—over a considerably bigger tonnage and an automatic improvement in profit margins. In addition, the fall in labor costs per ton, despite the increase in wage rates, indicates a very considerable improvement in labor productivity. This improvement is probably general throughout the industry; at least, sharp advances in third-quarter profits are common to practically all the steel concerns so far reporting.

I have no doubt that Philip Murray and his colleagues of the United Steel Workers are studying these figures carefully, and that when they open their wage negotiations they will argue that profits are ample to provide for a wage increase even though prices remain unchanged. Countering this claim, steel magnates will undoubtedly contend that the profits flowing from near-capacity operations are transient; so that higher wages would in fact compel higher prices and lead to further curtailment of demand.

The fear that rising costs will "price their products out of the market" is common to many industries today. It may not be unjustified, but those using it as an argument against wage increases overlook the fact that the main force sustaining demand, and making possible the economies arising from full production, is the workers' purchasing power. Unless, therefore, the present erosion of real wages is checked, business is likely to discover that it has starved its best customers.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

THOSE who read the newspaper quotes from the recent speech of William S. Paley, chairman of the board of the Columbia Broadcasting System, at the N. A. B. convention, must admit that they packed a punch that rocked the broadcasters back on their heels. Paley concentrated his attention mainly on the industry—its sins and its virtues—but he had something to say about critics and about the more discriminating listeners who make their protests vocal. Though we may disagree with some of his conclusions, they are all worthy of the careful attention of radio critics, professional and amateur. So far as I know, his was the first attempt made by any of the leading figures in broadcasting to analyze the intellectual's reactions to radio.

Paley began by welcoming criticism, particularly the by-lined critical reviews as distinct from the superficial carpings of people who, after listening to a couple of programs, style themselves experts. He concedes (the heretic!) that not all critics are cranks and that many are honest and objective in their intentions. Even those who are constantly sniping at the advertising aspects of radio do so not from malice or personal prejudice but from a lack of understanding of the complex nature of radio. For American radio faces a dilemma. Primarily, it is a mass medium and must serve the masses. Secondarily, radio must serve the specialized interests of various minority groups. The primary character of radio as a mass medium coincides with the advertiser's desire to sell his merchandise to the mass audience.

We should remember—even though Paley makes no mention of it—that in its diaper days radio was what the trade calls "highbrow." Not until radio developed mass-appeal programs did it show signs of healthy growth. With the airing of prize fights, Presidential election returns, Amos 'n' Andy, and Rudy Vallee, radio boomed, and simultaneously became bait for the advertiser and poison to the intellectual. Broadcasters showed an increasing tendency, therefore, to sell out to the advertisers and to cut to a minimum the brain-power and air time devoted to programs designed to please minority listeners.

For Paley this situation is highly unsatisfactory. Radio has a responsibility to this minority even if, as the industry is organized, their claim is classed as secondary. "We all recognize the simple truth," he says, "that you cannot have a healthy democracy without minorities. You can't even have democracy. The vigorous existence of minorities is not only inevitable; it is necessary to the democratic process. . . . As broadcasters, we must never lapse into the position of conspiring, even unintentionally, against minorities."

This may sound like a sop to the critics, but anybody who knows Paley knows that he means just what he says. Whether the majority of radio men understand it and believe it is another question. The degree to which radio has been convinced by Paley and the critics that it has been guilty of over-commercialization will become plain in the program schedules of the next six months. Back home the broadcasters will have to decide how much of the high principles discussed at the convention can be applied. Some will make a start at reform. Others will continue to duck the issue and try to put the blame on the advertisers.

There is another pertinent point that Columbia's president made: the discriminating listener makes little effort to inform himself of the availability of good programs. He takes great pains to select a newspaper, buy a book, or choose a play, but when it comes to radio, the dial becomes a substitute for a program guide.

Paley carries it a step farther: "The music lover who queues up to get a gallery seat for an opera is likely to be the first one who will attack radio because Toscanini or Rodzinski aren't standing by in the radio station to begin waving their batons the minute he flicks his radio on. If minority groups would take a tenth as much trouble as they willingly take in getting what they want from magazines, newspapers, books—as well as from concerts and lectures, I believe we would be applauded rather than abused. From many of these latter functions they return to their homes after midnight—yet they criticize radio if a program they particularly like is broadcast after 10:30 p.m."

To which a listener might well reply: "Perhaps I'd sooner sit home and listen to the concert or opera instead of going out and getting home after midnight. But why should I have to wait until 10:30 for a good program? And where are these programs you speak of? Where are they listed?"

This brings up a minor defect in radio publicity that should be remedied. The daily newspaper listings, with very few exceptions, are extremely sketchy. And even though a handful of stations sell program booklets to their listeners—for example, WQXR, WLIB, and WYNC in New York—nowhere is there anything to compare with the British Broadcasting Corporation's program booklets in the detailed information they provide. (By the same token American radio has nothing to compare with the BBC's "Third Program," which is especially designed for the discriminating listener, but that is a story that will be told in this column on another day.)

The sooner radio admits these weaknesses the sooner radio can move to correct them. Paley and people like him are doing their best to spread the word to others. Meanwhile it is also up to the intelligent listener to temper his demands with a reasonableness that takes into account some of the problems confronting radio. At the recent N. A. B. convention not only the Paley speech but the adult approach of both broadcasters and the Federal Communications Commission to the problems of regulation showed that a sizable percentage of radio's top men are growing up.

Meanwhile let's keep our eyes peeled, our tempers cool, and our ears cocked. The next move is the broadcasters'.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Working Day at the Splendide

HOTEL BEMELMANS. By Ludwig Bemelmans. The Viking Press. $3.

AT THE Hotel Splendide, where all the waiters speak French, the basic relationship of our society is seen naked and pure. The man on the assembly line at General Motors is after all in a very complex position; in a sense he really is just as important as the president of the company—he too is "essential," he too can think of himself as a man who makes automobiles rather than a man who sells his labor to General Motors at so much an hour, and he is not absolutely compelled to admit that the difference between his rewards and the rewards of the president of the company is an accurate reflection of his value. There is no such complexity about the Hotel Splendide. The Splendide is an institution that ministers to the comforts and vanities of the rich, precisely so that the rich may enjoy the sensation of their own importance. It is exploitation idealized, without even the irrelevancy of a tangible product to cloud the image: the efficient operation of the Splendide produces not an automobile but a feeling of well-being in the breast of someone who has a lot of money. And if the receiver of comfort is to be distinguished by the fact that he has money, the giver of comfort is to be distinguished above all by the fact that he does *not* have money. For in the absence of an aristocracy—and nothing about the Splendide is clearer than the absence of an aristocracy—there is no good reason for anyone to work in such an institution, except to make money. No concealment is possible: one man serves another because he gets paid for it.

The waiters at the Splendide would talk to themselves as they went to and from the kitchen, formulating dreadful insults not to be spoken in the dining-room; at the limits of patience, they could spit in somebody's food before serving it; they could celebrate discreetly when a guest died. Their satisfactions were fugitive and peripheral; one waiter derived pleasure from brushing the back of his hand against the behinds of fat women. Server and served dwell in an atmosphere of hateful intimacy and mutual exploitation, and the feelings of the server are painful and confused: he hates the best people, but at the same time he feels that they *are* the best, and he looks down his nose at the second-best; after a while his only relief is to spend his vacation at some other hotel ordering somebody else around.

While Ludwig Bemelmans was assistant manager of the banquet department at the Splendide, one of his subordinates, a man who had been a waiter all his life, began to crack up. At a magnificent dinner, when the guests included Otto Kahn, Bernard Baruch, Secretary Lansing, and other giants, this old waiter stood on the balcony biting his nails, and when the assistant manager came up, he said, "Give me two machine-guns, one on this side and the other over on the other side. I'll cover the doors and get them as they try to get out, just like with a hose up and down—brrrrrr—and the other gun can spray the speakers' table—brrrrrr—brrrrrr—brrrrrr, Table No. 1—brrrrrr, Table No. 2—aim for the plates, shoot through the table, hit them in the stomach so they suffer a while. Here are our enemies. *Ecrasez l'infâme! Liberté, égalité, fraternité!*" The assistant manager sent the man home to take it easy.

Now Mr. Bemelmans never really entertained the idea that two machine-guns might be an appropriate response to a banquet. He has no real passion about the Splendide, and therefore no real vision of its meaning. He breaks his experience up into segments, one thing after another, and there is never the power of feeling and imagination to make the segment embrace the whole. (Think of Chaplin.) If the picture of the whole does emerge, it is only by a process of inference from the particulars; so far as Mr. Bemelmans is concerned, you are free to think of the Splendide as an accidental and queer institution on the margin of society. He himself is *in* the picture; he has still the snobbery of one who knows how food should be served: in his mind the abomination of the Splendide gets overshadowed by the greater abomination of somebody bringing in a service of cheap red dishes for a Jewish wedding, and when the management takes the red dishes over and calls them the "ruby service" (with an extra charge), it is to him as if the Splendide had allowed itself to be corrupted.

Mr. Bemelmans has a special and individual talent; it is very easy to be charmed by him. But one feels in the end that his humor is always a technique for taking lightly what is serious, that he is concerned less with understanding the object before him than with feeling that he has seen through it, that his humor is a personal way out. He is therefore neither as funny nor as profound as his material requires him to be. True humor is least of all a way of taking things lightly; on the contrary, it is a way of taking things particularly hard, for it looks always at our saddest humiliations and it does not compromise. The Splendide is a terrible place, and terribly funny; Mr. Bemelmans has had to reduce it, because he is not capable of dealing with the terrible. In this he is like his fellow-humorists of the *New Yorker,* who have had to turn self-consciously solemn now that their universe can no longer be seen through but demands to be understood; the true humorist is not so embarrassed in the face of death and suffering—death and suffering are his subjects.

ROBERT WARSHOW

A Parody

I strove with none, for none was worth my strife:
Reason I loved, and next to Reason, Doubt;
I warmed both hands before the fire of life
And put it out.

[*This parody is attributed to E. M. Foster; and it must be his.*]

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A Southern History

THE EPIC OF LATIN AMERICA. By John A. Crow. Doubleday and Company. $5.

THERE is a long-standing argument as to whether it is not insulting to lump all the other American republics as *Latin America,* in the course of which a patriotic Latin American will usually point out that we have not yet thought of writing a history of Anglo-Saxon America in which the modern history of Canada and the United States would be treated as if there were no boundary line. That might be a very good thing; in fact, eventually we may have a history of *America,* emphasizing the parallel movement of our national histories in this hemisphere, pointing out our similarities rather than our diversities. What is principally good about this new survey of Latin American history is that it does deal with that history in a general way, so that the average North American reader—who usually needs to learn everything—can see the whole picture before he drowns in detail.

There could hardly be a story more fascinating than that of the Spanish and Portuguese in the New World. The way Spain built up the first modern empire, initiating all the errors of the theory of empire, and organized the first modern missionary movement, the clash between European and indigenous cultures, the various racial and economic and intellectual and political problems and attitudes which resulted, are but the more interesting for our long ignorance of them. And the history of the Latin countries, though it goes back a century farther than ours, is somehow closer to the surface there. Why have they been backward in industry? Because Spain allowed no industry to develop in its colonies. Why has united effort been so difficult among them? Because all contacts, and especially trade, were forbidden between the colonies in order to maintain their dependence on the mother-country. Why did Latin America so long remain out of touch with the times, politically and intellectually, when they had printing-presses, bookstores, and universities long before North America? Mainly because they had at the same time an active Inquisition. The church's temporal power and control of education, the survival of a feudal land system, the immensity and the character of the indigenous population—such elements of Latin American history are the problems of modern Latin America. Every American, of whatever country, ought to know the whole story of the American revolutions against European absolutism and against inequality and injustice—a story fortifying in its inevitability.

Any expert reading this volume will find in his own field curious lapses and lacks; but one must admit that the author is dealing with a very large subject, in both territory and time, and that many of its aspects have not yet been adequately treated by the experts. It is unfortunate that his survey depends entirely on secondary sources, for the original source material is extraordinarily rich, and even for the general reader a seventeenth-century traveler's eyewitness account is a good deal more interesting than the report of another modern historian.

Readers of a book like this ought to be encouraged by a well-arranged bibliography to follow through what it offers; for the same reason there ought to be more maps, and more detailed maps. On the other hand, the book is easy to read, and broad in its conception of the subject matter of history. If the author is weakest in cultural matters, where his dependence on published opinion leaves him occasionally ambiguous and arbitrary, he is strong in his sympathy. Furthermore, the general attitude toward the differences and the parallels between our history and theirs is usually just, and it is particularly on this score that one recommends the book to the common reader. ELIZABETH WILDER

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FICTION IN REVIEW

ALTHOUGH all of Arthur Koestler's books are tied together by their common concern with the large moral-political problems of our time, especially those on the intellectual left, there is an unusually close connection between his last novel, "Arrival and Departure," and his new novel, "Thieves in the Night" (Macmillan, $2.75). "Arrival and Departure" was about a young man so torn between his desire to act upon his political convictions and his desire to retreat into a life of private satisfactions that he suffered a functional paralysis and had to be psychoanalyzed. In the course of his treatment Mr. Koestler's hero discovered that an important part of his political impulse had a neurotic source. His story ended, however, not with the assertion of his ability to pursue his political course on an unneurotic basis, but with something quite else again—with his refusal to be deterred from political action by any ques-

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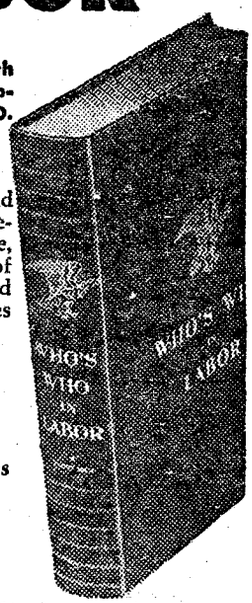
WHO'S WHO IN LABOR

Edited by Marion Dickman and Ruth Taylor and a Board of Advisors representing A. F. of L. and the C. I. O.



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tion of motive. "Arrival and Departure," in other words, was an up-to-date version of the old reason-versus-religion opposition, with psychoanalysis proxying for reason and with the free radical impulse proxying for religion. Its conclusions could be summed up as follows: that the therapy for indecision is not to seek further clarification but to seek further blindness; that the definition of free will is the freedom to ignore the uncomfortable logic of determinism; that the cure for doubt is not knowledge but—as in the classical theological instance—more faith.

"Thieves in the Night" takes up where "Arrival and Departure" left off. I do not mean that it has the same setting and characters. Mr. Koestler's new book is set in Palestine, and its central character and authorial advocate is a young Englishman living in a Jewish commune. But despite the fact that "Thieves in the Night" is very informative about the complex Jewish national situation, I think that to read it as only a study of this immediate problem is to read it in far too limited a context. "Arrival and Departure" ended with Mr. Koestler's protestation of his faith in the life of action. "Thieves in the Night" is a statement of the articles of this faith: it tells us how Mr. Koestler thinks we ought to act. Its program is applicable not merely to Palestine but to the whole world.

The period of Mr. Koestler's story is 1937-39; its hero is a half-Jew who has removed to Palestine after an unpleasant sexual episode with an anti-Semitic Englishwoman. Being not entirely Jewish by birth, Joseph is enough of an emotional and intellectual outsider in Palestine to be able to view what goes on around him with a range and objectivity of which his wholly Jewish comrades are incapable. While he takes full happy share in the life of his commune, he becomes increasingly aware that it will require more than dedication to insure its survival and growth. Little by little he becomes convinced, on the sound evidence which is public record, that the British are selling out the Jewish homeland to appease the Arabs, that Palestine is another Czechoslovakia. When the German refugee girl whom he loves is raped and killed by the Arabs, and the deed, instead of being allowed to disappear in the government files, is avenged by the Jewish terrorist organization, Joseph finally formulates what has long been germinating in him—his sympathy with the people who are in favor of direct political action. He joins the terrorist underground, the Stern group that has broken off from Haganah, the old moderate Jewish defense organization.

This is of course a very bare sketch of "Thieves in the Night." Anyone acquainted with Mr. Koestler's work will know with what skill and daring the outline is filled in, the circumstantiality with which Mr. Koestler's novel suggests the multitudinousness of the Palestinian scene, the philosophical ingenuity with which it traces Joseph's intellectual development. In a day when all reporters are political philosophers, Mr. Koestler is really distinguished for his grasp of political complexities, his dialectical power, his journalistic flair. Leaving out of account its moral point, "Thieves in the Night" is an extraordinary weaving together of the many tangled threads—Jewish, Arab, and British—that make up the Palestinian pattern and a remarkable docu-

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CHRISTIAN AND JEW!

(A Call To Arms)

I have assumed the duties of Administrative Chairman of the Political Action Committee for Palestine, Inc. The Committee, which bears no relation whatsoever to any other Political Action Committee in this country, is a vigorous, young, militant group of Jews and non-Jews in all walks of American life. This group has devoted itself to the task of the immediate repatriation of European Jews to Palestine and the recognition of the Jewish National State by the United Nations.

I am a Christian and because of this I do not conceive my position as merely an honorary post. On the contrary, I intend to devote most of my time toward achieving the purposes of the Committee.

Let me give you the reasons for my decision to join the Political Action Committee for Palestine in an active capacity, and what led me to it. It is not a strange decision from one who visited the concentration camps in Europe and has seen the lethal houses which consumed six million Jews.

FOOLISH OSTRICH

How long can we bury our heads in the sands like a foolish ostrich and still remain men? How long can we accept with a shrug of our shoulders the horrible torture and murder of six million men, women and children and still remain Christians? How long can we allow the pitiful remnant of a tragic people to rot in concentration camps and still be Americans? How long can we procrastinate with injustice and still believe that justice will prevail? How long can we look upon the machinations of other nations and watch them invade, enslave, torment and destroy a tiny nation, whose citizens have given us so much of our religion, our morals and countless other priceless gifts, and still remain a democracy, dedicated to the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter?

THE BLOOD OF MY ANCESTORS

I, for one, believe that justice, freedom and peace are indivisible in the international organism, and a spot, however small, where we allow injustice, slavery and war to continue, will develop into a malignant cancer which will devour us all.

I, for one, can no longer witness the tragedy of the Jews and the world's shameful unconcern for their fate. The blood of my ancestors who came to this country when the greatest metropolis in the world was a village, who helped build our nation, who helped free it from the tyrant's yoke, who helped unite it again, calls to my conscience and will not give me rest. It urges me to fight in a cause made holy by a river of innocent blood.

AWAKEN MY NATION'S CONSCIENCE

I shall henceforth devote my time and my energy to awaken my nation's conscience, even as mine has been awakened. I shall not weaken or tire until I see our brethren, the Jews, allowed to enter their Homeland, Palestine, and become a nation, free and independent, as our Government and the Governments of fifty-one nations, including Great Britain and the Arab States, have vowed it shall become.

In order that my efforts be more effective, I have assumed the Administrative Chairmanship of the Political Action Committee for Palestine, whose compelling program is the following:

SEVEN KEYS TO POSTERITY

1. To promote and foster by political and educational means, the recognition by the United Nations, of European and Palestinian Jewry as an ethno-political entity.

2. To advocate and effect the United Nations' recognition of Palestine as the national territory of this ethno-political entity.

3. To promote, urge and advocate the immediate repatriation to Palestine of the Jews in Europe.

4. To render aid, understanding and sympathy to those Jews in Palestine oppressed and persecuted by the Mandatory power because of their political views.

5. To urge withdrawal of British forces and civil officials from Palestine.

6. To demand elimination of Arab interference in Palestine's political situation.

7. To insist that no forces other than the Security Force of the United Nations should set foot on Palestine soil.

GIVE ME THE TOOLS AND I WILL DO THE JOB

This is a program which speaks for itself—in righteousness, justice, honor and freedom. It is a program which requires untiring labor and devotion. It is a program which requires funds and more funds to do the job and so *I appeal to you as an American to join me in this struggle and contribute whatever your conscience dictates.*

It is my intention to leave shortly for England where I plan to confer with members of the British Government. I will also fly to Palestine for the purpose of investigating conditions there and in the concentration camps outside of Palestine, including Cyprus and Eritrea.

As a member of Congress, I plan on my return, to report to our Government and to the Committee and the American people.

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ment of bold social observation, being the only novel I know which consistently refuses the common fictional myth about Jews.

But unfortunately its moral point must be very much taken into account, and it must also be examined in a larger focus than that of the Palestinian situation. Appearing just now, when feelings about the Jewish homeland are running especially high, "Thieves in the Night" is bound to arouse a very intense response. I think this excitation of a particularly Jewish response is regrettable. For implicitly and at times even explicitly, Mr. Koestler's novel defends not merely the use of terror in Palestine; it also defends the principle of terror. And the fact that it weights its case for direct action with the emotions which most of us feel about the immediate Jewish tragedy obscures these wider meanings. It blinds us to what I should have thought would be the main concern of a philosophical novelist—the vital difference between passionately meeting the demands of a particular time and place and the promulgation of a "rational" program of passion.

As I understand it, the present situation in Palestine is so critical that even the most modern factions have been forced to capitulate, if not subscribe, to the use of extreme methods of self-defense. But surely this does not justify the formulation of a philosophy of extreme action, at the comfortable distance of literature and political theorizing. It is not at all the same moral thing to be a Jew confronted by an Arab with a gun in his hand, or an anti-Nazi confronted by a Nazi with a gun in his hand, or a Negro confronted by a white lyncher, and to be a writer with a pen in one's hand. We have all of us learned in recent years if we did not know it before that there are certain situations in which extreme action is demanded, when to stop to scruple is to be destroyed; this bitter knowledge does not sanction us to forget that moral reflection is still our everlasting duty so long as we have even the illusion of safety. Certainly it is the duty of the novelist not only to remind us of the difference between the emotions of exigency and the emotions of premeditation, but also to remind us of the moral consequences of exigent conduct upon the individual who is forced to it. In the sense that "Thieves in the Night" ignores the fact that morality is relative to distance, it is as much an unpleasant emotional indulgence and an offense against moral taste as all the this-is-the-way-to-kill-Nazis novels produced at a several-thousand-miles remove from the Nazi horror. And in the degree that it fails to concern itself with the *tragedy* of violence it is morally irresponsible.

Far from undertaking its tragic business, the last section of Mr. Koestler's book plays only with the standard melodrama of terrorism. In "Thieves in the Night," as always in the novel, it is finally the atmosphere surrounding its principles, rather than the principles themselves, that influences our judgment. The members of Mr. Koestler's underground take a wry amusement in referring to themselves as "Jewish Fascists." (This is of course the name by which they are called by Zionists of other complexion.) But if the reader experiences any sympathetic wryness at this designation, it must certainly disappear as the novel goes into its detailed description of the organization of the terrorist movement—its military hierarchies and discipline, its schoolboy oaths, its face-slapping ("That will teach you to hold fast to your gun"), its general smell of Nazi *Blutbruderschaft*. "The Hebrew underground began as a purely political movement," Joseph writes in his journal, "and has developed more and more mystic accents. Simeon showed me yesterday some of Yair-Stern's poetry. It has a strange archaic fervor—quite untranslatable:

> My teacher carried his praying-scarf in a velvet bag to the synagogue:
> Even so carry I my sacred gun to the Temple
> That its voice may pray for us.

. . . Though he tries to hide it, Simeon has an almost religious admiration for Yair-Stern. He seems to regard him as a kind of gunman-messiah." Well, Mr. Koestler's Joseph may find it difficult to translate the poetry of terrorism from Hebrew into English. I find it disconcertingly easy to translate it into its essential meaning in any language.

Here, then, in actual practice, is the faith that triumphed over reason in "Arrival and Departure"—and a curious form of religious dedication it is. But it is not peculiar to Mr. Koestler; on the contrary, it represents a growing tendency among what we could once call liberal intellectuals. The assimilation of violence to salvation is perhaps not a new idea. The conjunction is new, however, for thinkers of the left political persuasion. Necessity may make soldiers of us all, but only the profound moral confusion of our times could suggest calling a fighter in the cause of freedom a gunman-messiah.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

THERE was a long period in the history of the English theater when the repertory was almost as standardized as that of the opera house or the concert hall today. New plays were somewhat more frequently offered than new musical compositions are now, but the leading theaters took their reliance upon Shakespeare, Jonson, Otway, and a number of now lesser-known writers as much for granted as your orchestras now take for granted their reliance upon Beethoven, Brahms, Tschaikovsky, and the rest. Most of the plays offered could not be called revivals because they had not for years been at any time long off the stage. While there does not seem any immediate likelihood that we shall return to quite that state of affairs, the number of old plays produced or announced for production on Broadway this season does suggest a harmless speculation. How many written during the last sixty years could be not merely successfully revived but incorporated into a standard repertory? How many, that is to say, would one not only "like to see again" but possibly like to see a dozen times or more—even on the assumption that new companies and new productions would give them from time to time at least as much novelty as a new conductor's interpretation of the Pastoral Symphony? Some of the big successes now current—"Life with Father," "Harvey," and "Born Yesterday"—may look more possible now than they will five years hence. How about Shaw, or O'Neill, or Sidney Howard, or Maxwell Anderson? How many of their plays—and my question is not merely rhetorical—could one see as often as your operagoer hears "Aïda" or as the eighteenth-century theatergoer saw not only some of Shakespeare but also "The Orphan" and even, God save the mark, "The London Merchant"?

One modern play which seems a more likely candidate than most for a place in a real repertory is Synge's "Playboy of the Western World." The revival now current at the Booth Theater is not, to be sure, really first-rate. Burgess Meredith is acceptable enough in the leading role, Mildred Natwick confirms again the impression that she can never fail to give an amusing performance, and Eithne Dunn, a newcomer from Ireland, has a good deal of charm. Nevertheless, one somehow gets the impression of a rather miscellaneous assortment of styles; and the joyous lilt of the speech, which the mere reader of the text cannot fail to catch and which the Abbey company translated into sound, is only occasionally caught. Yet for all that, it furnishes a delightful evening, and it makes one realize that one might happily see it again and again, not merely because it is better than most modern plays but also because its excellence is of a special and now uncommon, if not unique, kind.

Synge wrote it, of course, both in accordance with a theory and as a sort of protest against what he regarded as the essential wrongness of the modern drama. Egged on by Yeats and Lady Gregory, he proclaimed his conviction that neither drawing-room comedy nor sociological drama could have the universal appeal which great plays should have, and that only the myths of a folk or the daily life of a simple society could furnish subjects having the requisite universality. He added that the speech of the peasant was the only speech of the modern world which had escaped the deadening influence of too much abstract thinking; and thus, by a sort of Q. E. D., he was led to leave Paris for the Aran Islands. For once an abstract theory seemed to work. "The Playboy of the Western World" really is one of the few modern plays capable of interesting a cultivated and intellectual audience while at the same time remaining comprehensible at almost any level of sophistication. To enjoy it one does not need to know any one of the hundreds of things which Shaw or Ibsen or Wilde or Garson Kanin demands. There is nothing timely about it and, for all its local color, nothing which demands any exclusively local knowledge for its understanding.

One is tempted to believe that an audience from the Homeric Age would find it entirely comprehensible; and one is quite sure that such an audience would find nothing essentially unfamiliar in the story of the revolt of a son against a father. Neither is there any doubt that the exuberant picturesqueness of speech which runs riot throughout the play is poetically joyous in some fashion which no modern "poetic" drama ever approaches, or that the language itself affords a delight wholly different from that which the best and driest wit of Shaw or Wilde can give.

Perhaps Synge did not accomplish all this because of a theory. Lady Gregory, with the same convictions, never got beyond the somewhat self-conscious folksiness which we associate also with the American "regional" play. Yeats, deliberately or in spite of himself, turned to a different kind of poetry, which, whatever its virtues, is certainly far less accessible; and even Synge himself never produced during his short life another play nearly so good. But if the theories did not produce they do define the unique qualities of this particular comedy. It achieves a universality which seemed to have become impossible in the modern theater, and it makes more comprehensible the fact that Shakespeare was able to be the darling of the groundling as well as of the courtier.

Films

JAMES AGEE

"THE DARK MIRROR" is a smooth and agreeable melodrama about twin sisters (Olivia de Havilland, sweet and dry), and a psychiatrist (Lew Ayres) and a detective (Thomas Mitchell) who find out which one is an insane murderess. The detective work involves ink-blot and word-association tests and an amusingly sinister tandem of oscillating pens which register concealed emotions as one of the sisters talks. The picture could have been more exciting if Nunnally Johnson and his colleagues had risked more subtlety and puzzlement in the psychologizing, the situations, and the everyday performance of the sisters, but it is fairly clear that they were worried about just such risks and decided to eat-and-have only bits of the frosting instead of the whole cake. As far as they go with it, they do it very intelligently. I like the illusion of relaxation Mr. Johnson can create in dialogue which is actually very tightly designed, and I very much like Olivia de Havilland's performance. She has for a long time been one of the prettiest women in movies; lately she has not only become prettier than ever but has started to act, as well. I don't see evidence of any remarkable talent, but her playing is thoughtful, quiet, detailed, and well sustained, and since it is founded, as some more talented playing is not, in an unusually healthful-seeming and likable temperament, it is an undivided pleasure to see. I wish I could speak as respectfully of Mr. Ayres's performance, in his first film since the war, as I feel toward his performance during the war, but it seemed to me to be done wholly from the outside. Although I can remember

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very good work of his, perhaps he was never vocationally an actor; now, in any case, he seems no longer to be doing work he can care for: a predicament in which I and probably most of two billion other people can sympathize with him profoundly, without being eager to watch a sight so unhappy and so familiar.

I can't understand the excitement over "The Jolson Story." Without for a moment thinking they had anything to do with jazz, I have always liked Jolson and his style and most of his songs, and I still like hearing them on the soundtrack; and I suppose Larry Parks does about as well, as the visual Jolson, as anyone except the original would be likely to. Evelyn Keyes has always seemed to me one of the more attractive and capable girls in Hollywood, and one of the most neglected, and it is good to see her again, even in a role which can use so little of what she has, and which misuses most of that. I would probably enjoy William Demarest as Little Eyolf; so I had no great trouble liking him here. In fact, I have nothing in the world against this picture except that at least half of it seemed to me enormously tiresome. The other half is pleasant enough, but no more. The trouble is, it is here nearly as hard to separate the pleasant from the boring as to get the cream out of homogenized milk.

The Museum of Modern Art is screening a gigantic historical anthology of movies; the program started the middle of last September and will finish a year from next December. I could, and in the course of time may, regret and criticize quite a few omissions and inclusions, and some of the ways of classifying the films—for instance, the bewildering inclusion of "Der Dreigroschenoper" under the rubric "Pabst and Realism." And I feel that when the historians get to work on anything, arteries begin to harden, in the subject and in the people interested. Yet there is hardly a program in the bunch that doesn't offer some film I have seen and would highly recommended for re-seeing, or to anyone who missed it; or some film I want to see because through incarceration in one school or another, or inability to milk or steal the price of admission, I had to miss it myself. During the next two weeks I particularly recommend the following, to those within radius: Von Stroheim's "Foolish Wives," Flaherty's "Nanook of the North," "Wild Bill Hickok" with William S. Hart, Thomas Ince's "The Last Card," James Cruze's "The Covered Wagon," "Grandma's Boy" (Harold Lloyd), and "Sherlock, Jr." (Buster Keaton). "Foolish Wives" is fiercely trashy, but along with the trash there is some brutally shrewd atmosphere and sexual realism and comedy. "Nanook" has a beautiful simplicity, cheer, and hardiness which no subsequent documentary has improved on and which most have lost or perverted. I missed "Wild Bill," but I didn't miss the late William S. Hart, and I think that at his best he was in his face and his way of handling himself almost as mythically and finely racial—or I suppose I have to say national—as Lincoln. Hart is in "The Last Card," too, which I also missed, and that is the only film by Ince, who was as great in his way as Griffith, that the museum is able to show. Some of "The Covered Wagon" looks pretty embarrassing now, though I still think the frontier-comic work of Ernest Torrence and Tully Marshall has grandeur, for all that it is corny; but all that is massive and detached from characters and character-plot is tremendously strong, moving, and beautiful. The chase and fight in "Grandma's Boy," as I remember them, are a high point in melodramatic slapstick, thanks importantly to the terrifying face of Dick Sutherland

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as the villain; and Grandma's Civil War flashback is achingly funny. "Sherlock, Jr." is not one of Buster Keaton's funniest—none of his full-length films were—but it is about a hundred times as funny as anything made today. Some of the houses, yards, and streets are even more beautifully photographed than was usual in the old comedies. And one chase gag, involving a motor cycle and a long line of ditch-diggers, is hair-raising both in its mechanical perfection and as a piece of better-than-conscious surrealism. I am sorry the museum isn't showing Lloyd's finest comedy, his paralyzing first version of "Safety Last," a piece about a human fly which is as staggeringly fast as machine-gun fire. I'm even sorrier that the museum, or some dime theater, isn't showing every short film Keaton ever made, night and day, over and over. Barring only the best of Chaplin, they seem to me the most wonderful comedies ever made.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN THE years since I heard Strauss's "Ariadne auf Naxos" in Vienna there have been occasions when one or another of the German musicians and music-lovers now in this country, cross-examining me on my tastes, has exclaimed, "You don't like 'Ariadne'! But have you looked at the score?" and has proceeded to describe to me some of the marvelous examples of Strauss's craftsmanship. The expertness and assurance of that craftsmanship were something I was immediately aware of as I listened to the performance of "Ariadne" at New York's City Center recently; and they were even a pleasure to hear—for a while; but presently I was cursing that ability to go through all those elaborate motions of music-making endlessly with nothing to say and with nothing said. It pains me to think of the time and effort and conscientiousness that went into the production of this sterile work, and that might have given us a production of, say, Mussorgsky's original "Boris Godunov."

The work was competently staged, and the orchestral framework provided by Halasz was excellent; but much of the singing was poor. Virginia McWatters, the Zerbinetta, stopped the show with her spectacular agility and accuracy in the florid and high passages of *Grossmächtige Prinzessin;* but the middle range of her voice was unpleasantly harsh. Ella Flesch, the Ariadne, sang flat and with excessive tremolo—a combination that was torture. And the closing scene brought the absurdity of Ariadne listening with ecstasy to the constricted bleating of Vasso Argyris, the Bacchus. The only good singing by a principal was that of Polyna Stoska in the role of the composer: she has a fresh, powerful voice which does not yet show the effects it may show later of the way she drives it. And I should mention the lovely voices of two of Ariadne's three attendants—the contralto and one of the sopranos. (I have just read Olin Downes's statement, in a Sunday article, that Flesch sang at the first performance "under a slight indisposition which made vocalism difficult at moments," and Argyris was suffering from severe laryngitis.)

Wagner's "Meistersinger" has its dull stretches, and it may exhaust one with its diffuse and repetitious long-windedness; but it contains much of the loveliest and best music he ever composed; and of this music Columbia gives us Sachs's two monologues, the second-act *Was duftet doch der Flieder* and the third-act *Wahn! Wahn!,* sung by Janssen with the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra under Breisach (Set X-269; $2.85). The bloom is off Janssen's voice, but it is in better condition on these records than it was in the broadcast performance I heard two years ago: it can produce a sustained tone that is steady, agreeable, and sonorous; and it lends itself to Janssen's sensitive phrasing. Breisach provides no more than a routine accompaniment; and the sound of the performances on the records is rich, spacious, and clear, with good balance of voice and orchestra.

Brahms's Sonata Opus 120 No. 2 for clarinet or viola and piano is one of the many works of his that I find mechanically contrived and dull. Columbia offers a performance of it by Benny Goodman and Nadia Reisenberg (Set 629; $3.85); and what musical life there is in the proceedings is created by the piano-playing of Miss Reisenberg; for Goodman merely produces successions of clarinet notes without phraseological inflection or even sensuous beauty—though I am aware that the lack of sensuous beauty may be the fault of recording which deprives the sound of the piano of its rich resonance. Aside from this the recorded sound is good: spacious and clear, with excellent balance of the two instruments. Some of the surfaces of my review set are gritty.

In another set (649; $4.85) Oscar Levant plays a number of pieces by Chopin: the Etudes Opus 10 Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 10; the Nocturnes Opus 9 No. 2 and Opus 15 No. 2; the Berceuse; the Polonaise Opus 40 No. 1; and the Valses Opus 64 No. 2 and Opus 70 No. 1. Levant handles his instrument less brutally in these performances than in others I have heard; but rapid passage-work is often blurred—whether by his fingers or by faulty recording I cannot say. Far worse than this, however, is the lack of any feeling for continuity and coherence in the progression of sound in time, and of any artistic discipline—in performances that are full of erratic, wilful, senseless changes of pace and sonority. The sound of the piano on the records is bright but cold with a wide-range Brush pickup; with the limited-range Astatic Tru-Tan the treble is weak and the sound dull. Some surfaces of my review set are noisy.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations has sent me a volume entitled "Israel Sings" ($15 plus express charges), which contains liturgical music arranged from manuscripts in the Birnbaum Collection by Dr. Eric Werner of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, and sung by Cantors Frederick Lechner, Abraham Shapiro, and Emil Rosen, and by Pearl Besuner, Roberta Segal, and the 70th Anniversary Choir, with instrumental accompaniments. Having heard very little of

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this type of music I can hazard only one musical judgment of the set—that I find an incongruity between the old melodies and the modern and occasionally operatic style of the accompaniments provided by Dr. Werner. I asked someone who knows a great deal about the music how the melodies would be sung in an orthodox synagogue, and he answered, "Without accompaniments"; but then he added that a modern singer finds it difficult to sing without harmony, and there is no objection to accompaniments written by composers with a feeling for the styles of the melodies, like Achron. The performances seem good to me; and they are well recorded on black vinylite—which means that they should be played with a pickup weighing no more than one ounce. And considering the price of the records I would criticize the use of the whole first side and parts of the other sides for the narration of material that is printed in the accompanying booklet.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

"Suicidal Idea"

Dear Sirs: Reading in the papers about the latest fantastic weapons of war, I often wonder how responsible statesmen can even talk of discontinuing the occupation of Germany. Knowing the gift for technology of the Germans and knowing the desperate fanaticism of the Nazis, we should squarely face the fact that the occupation of Germany will be necessary until the nebulous day when nationalism has no further grip on the German people.

I don't believe that the Western powers or Russia would let loose such terrible weapons (perhaps only out of fear of retaliation), but I can imagine the Nazis doing so in desperate hatred and thirst for revenge.

It is about time that Russia and the Western powers stopped playing with the suicidal idea of using a rearmed Germany as an ally in the conflict between East and West.

OTTO G. WINTERNITZ

New York, October 6

From the Spanish Border

Dear Sirs: A five weeks' stay in Andorra, recently ended, has given me evidence of the great present fact about Spain—namely, that events there are moving so fast that crisis can hardly be far away. . . . The gears are in mesh and the machine is turning faster and faster. Crisis is developing in part through an intolerable crescendo in living costs, coupled with growing corruption and persecution.

The Spanish rationing system is quite inadequate and must be supplemented. The only source for such supplementation is the black market. . . . The contrast of prices with wages is the crux of the situation. Women workers in the Catalan textile mills are paid 12 pesetas a day (about 90 cents). Last winter, neither men nor women in the industry worked more than three days a week because of the lack of electric current. In one of the textile mills, when they are paid at the end of the week, the employer almost forces the women workers to buy certain foodstuffs from him, principally beans and fish. Both are half rotten. Thus, while paying out with one hand, he cashes in with the other.

Hunger, semi-starvation, and malnutrition are general among the workers and are on the increase. Very many people are sick in Spain today because of sheer hunger. Tuberculosis is rife, especially among the children. . . .

Corruption, extortion on a large and a petty scale, persecution—all are practiced by state functionaries high and low, flamboyantly and brutally. The main offenders are the execrated Guardia Civil, the Secret Police, the tax inspectors, and other minor agents. It is a common practice for a civil guardsman to buy articles in a shop and sell them outside on the black market.

In the midst of local conditions approximating famine, it is known to Catalonians that both olive oil and rice—food staples in Spain—are being exported. I learned in Andorra that Barcelona dockers had discovered that large quantities of olive oil for export were being camouflaged in tins labeled "Nestlé." Rice, they found out, was packed in ten-kilo sacks labeled "chemical products."

I had a demonstration of the cynical falsity which any national "referendum" as to Franco's popularity within Spain would involve. A token "referendum" was taken in Catalonia in preparation for Franco's appearance there in connection with military maneuvers. Special agents went from house to house in every town and village, exacting the signatures of every person of either sex above the age of fifteen on a document stating that the signers were glad of the Caudillo's visit.

The insolent outrages and injustices, petty and great, now increasing in Spain suggest that Franco is deliberately seeking to bring about a general uprising in order to quell it thoroughly. Spain is a nightmare. A fierce awakening cannot long be delayed.

NANCY CUNARD

Bourg Madame, France, September 20

Ask Christmas Amnesty

Dear Sirs: Now that the army has declared a draft holiday and it is virtually certain that the Selective Service Act will be suspended until it expires on March 31, 1947, it would seem that no excuse remains for keeping conscientious objectors charged with violation of the act in prison. Yet at the moment of writing about a thousand still remain

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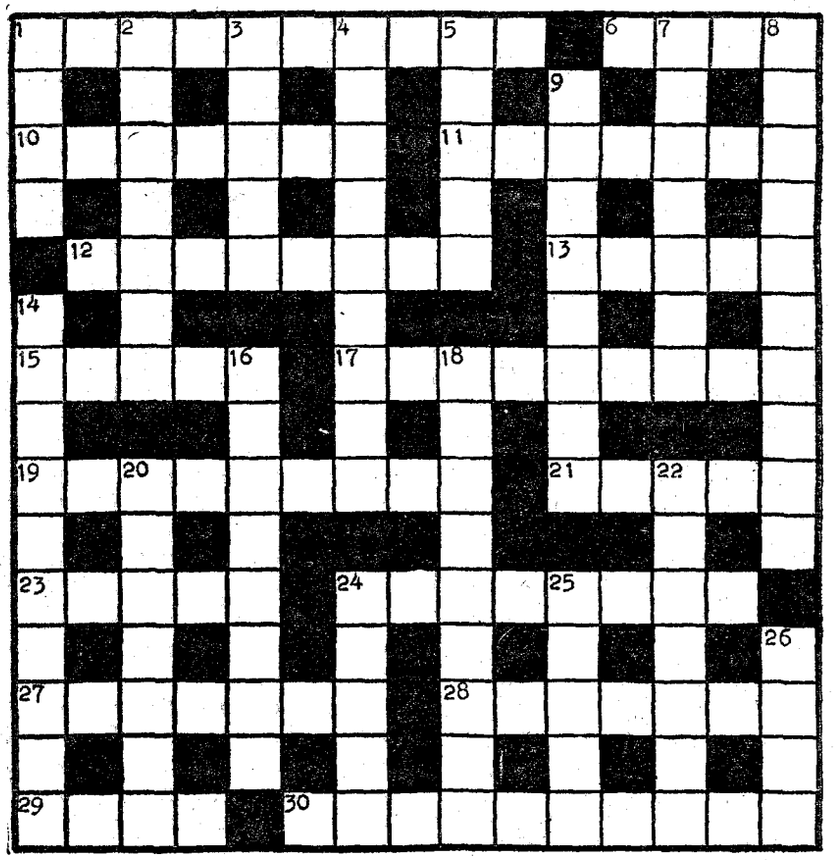
Crossword Puzzle No. 186

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Moral environment of pater's home after it was broken up
6 Sooty speck
10 Geological rocks yielding rare tin
11 Alice found herself very quickly this as a result of eating a cake (5 - 2)
12 Most transparent
13 They have mouths but no appetite, though often distended with food
15 In France a bed has no illumination
17 Fifty in a hard fix are unfavorable
19 By no means a conversation piece
21 Even roues may, late in the day
23 Drunk as a loyal toast by Ethiopians?
24 Principal men unconnected with stage or screen
27 Elation (anag.)
28 Died out
29 Compassion
30 Ten stripes (anag.)

DOWN

1 Indian flour — oh, boy!
2 He certainly sounds warlike
3 Chessmen into frogs perhaps
4 Longing for little more than a ring of yarn and another ring
5 "A fool must now and then be ----- by chance"
7 Handcuff
8 He composes copy rather like a kind dog
9 Deny upon oath
14 The head of a prizefighter when he's sent spinning? (7 and 3)
16 A juror
18 Jack trades on it
20 Slight
22 Unsettle
24 Veiling that is not very veiling
25 Religious usages
26 Proofreader's direction

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 185

ACROSS:—1 VOLTAIRE; 5 ULTIMO; 10 LET'S OUT; 11 HOTHEAD; 12 RUSSE; 13 RECKONING; 14 AROSE; 16 SISTERLY; 19 STATISTS; 22 POSER; 24 GREENLAND; 26 INDIA; 28 STOICAL; 29 TREBLED; 30 SLEWED; 31 CRISTATE.

DOWN:—1 VALERIAN; 2 LATHS; 3 ATONEMENT; 4 RETURNS; 6 LOTTO; 7 ICE FIELDS; 8 OLD AGE; 9 CHICKS; 15 ON THE MOVE; 17 EMPTINESS; 18 ORGANDIE; 20 STABLE; 21 SEDATER; 23 AGISTS; 25 NICHE; 27 DELTA.

in the federal jails, the great majority of them Jehovah's Witnesses.

Furthermore, the five thousand or more who have been released are still branded as felons and consequently deprived of important civil rights in many states and barred from the professions. A Presidential amnesty to all objectors to war and conscription is the one way promptly and comprehensively to remedy this situation.

The Committee for Amnesty, 5 Beekman Street, New York 7, New York, calls on all who believe in democracy and religious freedom to wire or write the President and Attorney General Tom Clark *during Thanksgiving week* asking them to proclaim a Christmas amnesty.

DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER
A. J. MUSTE

New York, October 22

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